

Document-ID: vdx_1334928

Patron:

Note:

NOTICE:

Pages: 25 Printed: 11-09-08 14:33:41

Sender: Fordham University Library -VYF

Fordham University Interlibrary Loan

ILLiad TN: 292724.0

VYF 150.108.156.223

Borrower: ATNMQ **Call #:** BX1.A87
Lending String: *VYF,TXC,XII,CLU,KLG **Location:** RH
Patron: vdx_1334928jk
Journal Title: Augustinianum.
Volume: 41 **Issue:** **Shipping Address:**
Month/Year: 2001 **Pages:** 521-544 Macquarie University Library
Article Author: Document Supply Unit
Article Title: Paola BUZI, / The Life of Maximus
and Domitius; The Cultural Life of the Wadi al-
Natrun Cnr Balaclava and Epping Rds
Imprint: Rome, Collegium Internationale North Ryde
Augustini New South Wales, 2109 Australia
ILL Number: 45732569


Fax: +61-2-9850-7590
E-mail: ill@library.mq.edu.au
Ariel: ariel@library.mq.edu.au or
137.111.128.64

If you need to request a resend, please do so within five business days.
Note any problems below and we will take care of the problem as soon
as possible. Thank you for your patience.

Problem:

Fordham University
Interlibrary Loan Department
441 East Fordham Road
Bronx, NY 10458

Phone: 718-817-5165

Fax: 718-817-3581

Ariel: 150.108.156.223

. 362, l. 26 e ss.).

ΝΟΙΝΦΕΕΡΕ ΝΜΠΟΙΗ ΤΗΣ
Γ | ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΧΝΤΤΕΧΗ |
ΤΜΝΤΔΘΗΤ | ΕΤ2ΝΗΦΑΖΕ
Δ ΝΝΣΕΛ|ΛΗΝ ΜΝΔΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΜΜΑ ΝΙΜ |
ΟΝ | ΣΗΤΟΥ ΝΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC |
ΤΟΥΡ ||

le figlie dei ποιηταί, che sono anno alla τέχνη μουσική. Avendo i ragazzi (?) possano essere ridotte ε Ἀπόλλων. (La τέχνη) infatti ha in essa (fugge) ciò che ancora te ai μάρτυροι che sono scaturiti

it., p. 364, l. 16 e segg.).

ΤΝΝΟΟΥ Μ|ΜΟΟΥ ΜΠ2ΔΓΙΟC
ΗΝΔΑ|CA ΝΙΜ ΝΕΕ ΜΠΕΙΕ[ΡΟ]
ΣΜΠΕ|2ΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ
ΟΥΒΕ ΝΕΥΕΡΗY | ΕΥΦΕΕΙ
ΔΝΟΚ ΣΩΩΤ | ΕΙΝΝΑΧΟΟC
ΓΧΟΣ ΕΥ|ΝΗΥ ΣΝΝΕΣΗY ΕΡΕ
‘ΩΜ|Τ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗY ΣΜΠΙΜΑ |
ΕΨΚΩΤΕ ΕΨΤΝΟΥ| ΣΟΛΔΑ

verso il ἄγιος Leonzio, attoniti, e che nel Santo Giorno rivela i contrappponendosi i venti gli uni Di modo che anch'io dirò κατὰ καρίζε] nei confronti di coloro (per il fatto che) i venti soffiano vano a scontrarsi gli uni con gli ζ che ruota su sé stesso, procu-

Delio Vania Proverbio
Via delle Cave 27
00181 Roma

THE LIFE OF MAXIMUS AND DOMITIUS: THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE WADI AL-NATRUN IN THE X CENTURY

The titles of texts found in Coptic manuscripts have received so far little attention. It is well known that the information they give is suspect; some scholars wrongly consider them as part of the work, but in general the problem of where they come from has been neglected. In the Coptic manuscript tradition two versions of the "Life of Maximus and Domitius"¹ are known, transmitted in Sahidic² and in Bohairic³ respectively. The two versions do not greatly differ, but the Sahidic one deserves special attention. The parchment codex that contains its text was found in Hamuli⁴ and is dated from IX-X century.⁵ Most of the codex is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M584), but twenty-eight pages are divided between Cairo,

¹ According to the classification of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (<http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~cmcl>) the *Life of Maximus and Domitius* corresponds to the *clavis coptica* 0323.

² The Sahidic version of the *Life* is contained in the incomplete manuscript published by H. Munier, *Une relation copte saïdique de la vie des Saints Maxime et Domèce*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 13 (1916), pp. 93-140 as well as in ms M584 of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

³ The Bohairic version of the *Life* is contained in E. Amélineau, *Histoire des Monastères de la Basse-Égypte*, Paris 1894, pp. 262-315.

⁴ In the surroundings of the modern village of Hamuli, in the Fayum oasis, are to be found the remains of the monastery of St. Michael which, in 1910, brought to light a quantity of Coptic codices, most of which were purchased one year later by Pierpont Morgan, representing one of the most important nuclei of this collection.

⁵ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Leuven 1993), p. 332 dates the manuscripts between the 822/23 and the 913/914, respectively the most ancient and the most recent datations found in the colophons of the manuscripts from Hamuli.

Strasbourg and Port Saïd.⁶ Besides the "Life of Maximus and Domitius", M584 contains the "Martyrdom of SS. Theodore the Anatolian (the Oriental), Leontius the Arab and Panegirus the Persian".

An important aspect of the Sahidic *Life* is represented by the exceptional length of its title, certainly of a later date than the creation of the text itself. The length of the title would be enough to justify a detailed analysis, but there is a further peculiarity: the unusual attention paid to the description of a very specific Egyptian *milieu*.

A careful analysis of the content of the Sahidic title may be of a great help in reconstructing the cultural life of the last phase of Egyptian literary production in the Coptic language, if we take into account the parallel archaeological evidence.

So far we have incomplete and scant knowledge of the centres (monastic and not) which were still active during the X-XI century. It is probable that they did not produce any more original works in the Coptic language, but they copied and transmitted those previously created texts which still had a certain interest, above all because they were used for liturgical purposes.⁷

In order to make the analysis of the title very clear, it is useful to enumerate the many elements of interest provided by the title in question, according to the following points:

1. length of the title
2. terminology used to define the "literary genre"
3. description of the content of the work
4. questions about the identification of the author
5. comparison with the title preserved in the Bohairic version
6. relationship between the content of the title and the content of the work

To the information supplied by the title is to be added the pre-

⁶ For the collocation of the missing *folii* of M584 now in Strasbourg, Cairo and Port Said see Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 333.

⁷ H. U. Evelyn-White is one of the few scholars to touch upon functions and characteristics of the *scriptoria*, but he does not say anything specific about which *scriptoria* were still active in the last phase of the Coptic literature. See H. U. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn I: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, New York 1926, pp. XXI-XXII. *Scriptorium* in A. S. Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* VIII, New York 1991, p. 2108 on the other hand gives information about the sites which, according to the colophons, turn out to have hosted writing laboratories.

cious information directly or indirectly of which it is attributed, which

7. a comparison between titles which contain the "Life" tradition of the *Synaxar* of two saints.

Before discussing the "titles", we will study the entire text, followed by a comparison with the Bohairic version to have a complete view.

The Sahidic version:⁸

"Subject" (ΤΖΥΠΟӨΕCIC) of the lives of Maximus and Domitius, sons of the same parents, who completed a good life full of virtue and the commands of the gospel. In the month of Tobe, the other month of the year, they were counted by Apa Pshoi of Comana, a monk, with Apa Makarios, a man of the church, and Apa deacon. Apa Mose the Ethiope, a monk, wrote the life of the saint (ΝΧΑΡΤΗC). He left it in the hands of all readers, of a beautiful writing, with virtue, for he met with the saint alive when he came to Scetis. Apa Mastikoi, Apa Isidorus took the book and read it. He spoke about the life of the saint to them. It then remained the book of the holy archbishop of Alexandria, named Eustatios, who had written parchment books written in gold ink. ΝΑΠΑC ΕΨΗC2 ΕΣΕΝΤΕΛΕΨΗC he was looking among books in the library (ΕΨΗCΟΥΨΤ ΣΝ ΝΧωΨΜΕΝΗC) for he was a servant of God. The monk, who was from Scetis, and who had written the life of those perfect saints, our Lord Jesus Christ. In God's name,

The Bohairic version:⁹

⁸ The translation is based on Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 333.

⁹ The translation is based on Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 333.

the "Life of Maximus and Domitius of SS. Theodore the Anatolian and Panegirus the Persian". *Life* is represented by the expression of a later date than the creation of the title would be enough to justify further peculiarity: the unusual and very specific Egyptian *milieu*. The Sahidic title may be of a general life of the last phase of Coptic language, if we take into account the knowledge of the centres of life during the X-XI century. There are no more original works in which and transmitted those of certain interest, above all because.

The title very clear, it is useful to rest provided by the title in its parts:

"terary genre" work of the author in the Bohairic version of the title and the title is to be added the pre-

of M584 now in Strasbourg, Catalogue, p. 33. Scholars to touch upon functions does not say anything specific last phase of the Coptic literature of the *Wadi 'n Natrûn I: New Coptic Texts*, New York 1926, pp. XXI-XXII. *Ennaion VIII*, New York 1991, p. 2108 he sites which, according to the laboratories.

cious information directly obtainable from the version of the *Life* to which it is attributed, which suggests:

7. a comparison between the content of the two Coptic texts which contain the "Life of Maximus and Domitius" and the tradition of the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* concerning the two saints.

Before discussing the "stratigraphic" analysis of the title, we give the entire text, followed by the one with the Bohairic title, in order to have a complete view.

The Sahidic version:⁸

"Subject" (ΤΖΥΠΟΕΕCΙC) of the life of the Roman saints Maximus and Domitius, sons of Valentinus, emperor of the Romans, who completed a good life full of all virtues and who also fulfilled in it all the commands of the gospels. The one died on the 14th of the month of Tobe, the other on the 17th of the same month. It was recounted by Apa Pshoi of Constantinople, the first deacon who lived with Apa Makarios, a man of God, and Apa Isidorus. He died as a deacon. Apa Mose the Ethiopian was appointed in his place. Pshoi wrote the life of the saints on a papyrus scroll (ΕΥΔΟΜΟC ΝΞΑΡΤΗC). He left it in the church as a benefit and a memorial, for all readers, of a beautiful way of life in accordance with God and with virtue, for he met with them for some days while they were still alive when he came to Scetis. When Scetis has been laid waste by the Mastikoi, Apa Isidorus took it with him to Alexandria to the Xenon. He spoke about the life of those saints and about his great zeal for them. It then remained there until the time of Apa Khael, the most holy archbishop of Alexandria. It was brought to light by a deacon named Eustathios, who had found it in a large storage box of old parchment books written in quires (ΣΝ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΘΗΚΗ ΝΞΩΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΤΑC ΕΥΧΗΣ ΕΣΕΝΤΕΤΡΑC ΝΞΩΩΜΕ ΜΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΟΝ), when he was looking among books that might have deteriorated over time (ΕΨΜΟΥΨΤ ΣΝ ΝΞΩΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΥΡ ΖΟΟΛΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΡΟΝΟC), for he was a servant of God. He then met a monk living in the Ennaion, who was from Scetis, and gave it to him. This is the way in which the life of those perfect saints of God was revealed. For the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. In God's peace. Amen.

The Bohairic version:⁹

⁸ The translation is based on the text of the title published by Depuydt, Catalogue, p. 333.

⁹ The translation is based on the text of the title published by Amélie

The life of the Roman saints Maximus and Domitius, sons of Valentinus, emperor of the Romans, who completed their good life full of all virtues after having fulfilled all the commands of the holy Gospels. One, Maximus, died on the 14th of the month of Tobe, the other, Domitius, on the 17th of the same month. It was recounted by Apa Pshoi of Constantinople, the first deacon who lived in Scetis beside Apa Makarios, man of God, and with Apa Isidorus who died a deacon and Apa Mose the Ethiopian was appointed in his place. Pshoi wrote the life of these saints to memorialize them. He left it in the church as a benefit for anybody wishing to live in accordance with God.

The title attributed to the Bohairic version of the Life is fully compatible with the category of "long titles", which are typical of the last phase of the Coptic literary production.¹⁰ The same type of structure, which enlarges the primary nucleus of the title (name of the author and/or of the main character, subject of the work) by means of other elements apparently less important (place in which the work is supposed to have been created or read, detailed information about the author, occasion of its creation) is found in numerous other cases, among which are the *In Theodorum ducem* by Anastasius of Euchaita, the *In Claudium II* by Constantine of Siout or the *In Mariam Virginem* and the *De Cruce* both by Cyril of Jerusalem.¹¹

However, the Sahidic title, for the reasons already mentioned, distinguishes itself by its subject matter, justifying a careful analysis of its content according to the points previously listed. As well as the content of the titles, we must also consider two works which contain important references to situations and characters quoted in them:

- The *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (Lives of Pshoi, of Zacharias, of

neau, *Histoire des Monastères*, p. 262.

¹⁰ Concerning the characteristics of late Coptic titles see P. Buzi, *Titles in the Coptic Manuscript tradition: Complex Structure Titles and Extended Complex Structure Titles*, in *Acts of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta], (forthcoming).

¹¹ Concerning the *In Theodorum* by Anastasius of Euchaita and the *In Claudium II* by Constantine of Siout see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Leuven 1993, p. 303 and 244. For the *In Mariam Virginem* by Cyril of Jerusalem see E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915, p. 49. Finally for the *De Cruce* again by Cyril of Jerusalem see A. Campagnano, *Omelie copte sulla passione, sulla croce e sulla Vergine*, Milano 1980, p. 76.

Moses, of Macarius, of Maximus).

- The *Historia Lausiaca* by St. Basil (Life of Moses).

1. The lenght of the title

The unusual length already mentioned, 33 lines, makes this title the longest contained in the f. 13r and M584 of the Pierpont Morgan Library. The extension of the title is due to the two columns in which the text is written.

Being preceded by a multi-line cross, of which the upper part is a cross, it is flanked by two columns of hemming adorned with a decorative punctiform motif.

The handwriting, different from the usual P, Y, 4 and sometimes T, is written on the right, and is characterized by a certain slant, and, at the same time, by a certain regularity. In general it is an attractive, rather than a formal, handwriting.

2. The "literary genre"

The terminology used to describe the title of the manuscript represents an *unicum* in Coptic literature. The term ΣΥΝΟΕΚΙΚ which is used in the title, identifies the exact nature of the title, very important for a full understanding of the text.

In Greek the term has the meaning of "subject" and "beginning". In Latin the term is *titulus*, although not in a title.

¹² See L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library II*, plates 156-157.

¹³ For the various meanings of the term ΣΥΝΟΕΚΙΚ see H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968, s.v.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alex*, book I, chapter 1, section 1455a.

¹⁵ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, book I, chapter 1, section 1455a.

Maximus and Domitius, sons of who completed their good life all the commands of the holy 14th of the month of Tobe, the same month. It was recounted by a deacon who lived in Scetis before with Apa Isidorus who died a man was appointed in his place. memorialize them. He left it in wishing to live in accordance

otic version of the Life is fully titles", which are typical of the production.¹⁰ The same type of nucleus of the title (name of character, subject of the work) by less important (place in which created or read, detailed information of its creation) is found in numerous are the *In Theodorum ducem* by *ducem II* by Constantine of Siout or *duce* both by Cyril of Jerusalem.¹¹ The reasons already mentioned, after, justifying a careful analysis previously listed. As well as the consider two works which contain characters quoted in them: Lives of Pshoi, of Zacharias, of

te Coptic titles see P. Buzi, *Titles in Structure Titles and Extended Complex International Congress of Coptic Studies*, coming).

Anastasius of Euchaita and the *In L. Depuydt, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts* Leuven 1993, p. 303 and 244. For the see E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous London* 1915, p. 49. Finally for the *De Campagnano, Omelie copte sulla pas-* p. 76.

Moses, of Macarius, of Maximus and Domitius);

- The *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius (in particular the chapter about Moses).

1. The lenght of the title

The unusual length already described, consisting in more than 33 lines, makes this title the longest known to date in Coptic. It is contained in the f. 13r and in part of the f. 13v of the manuscript M584 of the Pierpont Morgan Library¹² and it is laid out on a single column, the extension of which (26,9 x 19,6 cm.) corresponds to the two columns in which the text of the work is organized.

Being preceded by a multicolour interlacing of flat ribs, on top of which is a cross, it is flanked on the left side by an undulate hemming adorned with a simple floral decoration flanked by a punctiform motif.

The handwriting, differently from that of the text itself, in which **P**, **Y**, **Q** and sometimes **T** tend to be short, is inclined slightly to the right, and is characterized by a certain prolongation of the *apices* and, at the same time, by a thickening of their terminal parts. In general it is an attractive, rather elegant handwriting.

2. The "literary genre"

The terminology used to define the so-called "literary genre" represents an *unicum* in Coptic: the usual **ΤΒΙΟC** is preceded by the term **ΖΥΠΟΘΕCIC** which is not present in any other title. For this reason, identifying the exact semantic shade of that **ΖΥΠΟΘΕCIC** is very important for a full understanding of the title.¹³

In Greek the term has numerous meanings among which are "subject" and "beginning". The former meaning is used by Aristotle,¹⁴ although not in a title. In Quintilianus,¹⁵ on the other hand,

¹² See L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library II*, plates 156-157.

¹³ For the various meanings of **ΖΥΠΟΘΕCIC** see H. G. Liddell - R. Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968, pp. 1881-1882.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, c. 1436a 36; *Rhetorica*, c. 1404b 15; *Poetica*, c. 1455a.

¹⁵ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 3,5,7.

it assumed the more specific value of "subject of a *logos*", as was to be used later in the *Progymnasmata* by the IV-V century rhetor Aphthonius.¹⁶ But even more pertinent is the witness of Isocrates¹⁷ who uses exactly the same expression "hypothesis of the life" as in the Sahidic title. A different shade of the same meaning is used by Eusebius in his first book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* which is entitled "the summary (hypothesis) of the planned work".¹⁸ In the same way the term "hypothesis" is used by Theodoretus in his *Interpretationes*¹⁹ and in some late profane texts such as the "Hypothesis of the Iliad" preserved in a codex of the Bodleian Library.²⁰ Finally Photius in his *Lexicon* explains the meaning of περιοχή (argument, summary) with the terms ὑπόθεσις and περιέτεια.²¹

As for the second meaning, that of "beginning", it appears in the IV century A.D. in the *De vita Pythagorica* of Iamblichus.²²

The case of the Hamuli manuscript would seem especially similar to the use of the term made by Eusebius and Theodoretus and, consequently, it would convey in the "summary of the life of Maximus and Domitius". The term ΣΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ would not substantially change the meaning of ΒΙΟC but certainly it remains a case without parallels in Coptic.

¹⁶ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 13.

¹⁷ Isocrates 4,63.

¹⁸ See E. Grapin, in Eusèbe, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* I.1, Paris 1905, p. 2.

¹⁹ In Theodoreti *Cyrensis opera omnia*, PG 82 cc. 673-674 (Theodoretus, *Interpretatio Epistolae ad Hebraeos*); 787-788 (Theodoretus, *Interpretatio Epistolae I ad Timotheum*) and 831-832 (Theodoretus, *Interpretatio Epistulae II ad Timotheum*) "hypothesis" is translated as *argumentum*.

²⁰ Ms. Barocci 131 f. 42r. It contains a miscellany of Greek classical and Byzantine texts, some unique or rare, by Michael Psellus and many others, on paper, 3rd quarter of the 13th century. Cf. <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbarocci131>.

²¹ Photius, *Lexicon*, π, 420,3; v, 627,20. The *Lexicon* was compiled, probably, to a great extent by his students under his direction, from older Greek dictionaries (Pausanias, Harpokration, Diogenianos, Ἀλιος Dionysius). It was intended as a practical help to readers of the Greek classics, the Septuagint, and the New testament. It is contained in the defective "Codex Gattalanus" (first part of the XIII cent.).

²² Iamblicus, *De vita Pythagorica* 27,130. For more examples of the use of the term in the same meaning see again Liddell-Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, p. 1881.

3. The content of the work

After the terminology used in the title goes on to identify the emperor Maximinus, emperor of the Roman virtues after having fulfilled the Maximus, died on the 14th of Domitius, on the 17th of the s

The main feature of the title goes on to identify the emperor Maximinus, emperor of the Roman virtues after having fulfilled the Maximus, died on the 14th of Domitius, on the 17th of the s

4. The identification of the author

After the description of the title goes on to identify the author: "It was recorded by the first deacon who lived with the saint Apa Isidorus. He died a deacon in his place".

²³ Illustrative in this regard is the legend of the finding of the True Cross of Jerusalem in Campagnano, Ovovia. The events described within the work are taken from the legend of nostro santo padre apa Cirillo, lode della croce santa e luminosa. Il Signore disse a Mosè: "Celebrami la tua missione e apparso sulla tomba del Salvatore, egli pronunciò questo discorso: Signore Gesù Cristo, nel giorno della croce con tutto il popolo, gloria alla santa croce. Nella pagina, i titoli, which are not at all appropriate, are nevertheless almost ab

"subject of a *logos*", as was to be the IV-V century rhetor Aphthonius witness of Isocrates¹⁷ who uses the word "thesis of the life" as in the Sahidic manuscript which is used by Eusebius in his *Commentaria in Ilium* which is entitled "the summary".¹⁸ In the same way the term *synthesis* is used in his *Interpretationes*¹⁹ and in the "Hypothesis of the Iliad" preface.²⁰ Finally Photius in his library.²¹ Finally Photius in his *Mythographia* (*argumentum*, summary) with

of "beginning", it appears in the *Commentaria* of Iamblichus.²² It would seem especially similar to Maximus and Theodoreus and, concerning the life of Maximus in the *HCIC* would not substantially change it remains a case without

¹⁷ *Clétiastique* I.1, Paris 1905, p. 2.
 PG 82 cc. 673-674 (Theodoreus, *Interpretatio Epistolae Theodorei*, *Interpretatio Epistulae II ad argumentum*).

¹⁸ A miscellany of Greek classical and Michael Psellus and many others, Cf. <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?occ=131>.

¹⁹ The *Lexicon* was compiled, probably under his direction, from older Greek Diogenianos, *Aelius Dionysius*. It consists of the Greek classics, the Septuagint in the defective "Codex Gattiano".

²⁰ For more examples of the use of Liddell-Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*

3. The content of the work

After the terminology used to describe the "literary genre", the title goes on to identify the two main characters as "sons of Valentine, emperor of the Romans, who completed a good life full of all virtues after having fulfilled all the commands of the Gospels. One, Maximus, died on the 14th of the month of Tobe, the other, Domitius, on the 17th of the same month".

The main feature of the Coptic longer titles is to summarize, more or less faithfully but certainly not concisely, the content of the work to which they are attributed.²³ But in this case the references to the life of the two saints are limited to a few details. It is probable that this first part of the title is what remains of the one originally attributed to the *Life* and that all the following data would have been added only much later. The author of this version prefers to dwell, rather than on the content of the work, on the story of the text, on its author, on the type of graphic support used and, what is really unusual, on the details of the way in which this would have been transmitted.

4. The identification of the author

After the description of the content of the work, the title mentions the author: "It was recounted by Apa Pshoi of Constantinople, the first deacon who lived with Apa Makarios, a man of God, and Apa Isidorus. He died a deacon. Apa Moses the Ethiopian was appointed in his place".

²³ Illustrative in this regard is the title of the *De Cruce* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem in Campagnano, *Omelie Copte*, p. 77 where all the subjects handled within the work are taken into consideration in detail: "Discorso del nostro santo padre apa Cirillo, arcivescovo di Gerusalemme, pronunciato in lode della croce santa e luminosa e circa le parole della Scrittura che il Signore disse a Mosè: "Celebrami una festa tre volte l'anno" e sulla croce che è apparsa sulla tomba del Salvatore e su Isacco il samaritano che egli battezzò. Egli pronunciò questo discorso nel luogo della resurrezione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, nel giorno 17 del mese di Touth, celebrando la festa della croce con tutto il popolo ortodosso e quasi tutta la città, rendendo gloria alla santa croce. Nella pace di Dio. Amen". Such long, fully articulated titles, which are not at all infrequent in the Coptic manuscripts tradition, are nevertheless almost absent in the "literary genre" of the *bios*.

In most cases, in the "literary genre" of the BIOC the author is missing. In fact titles of *passiones* and lives limit themselves to the mention of the main characters, without dwelling on who may have written them. This title is an exception, even if not an *unicum*,²⁴ also from this point of view.

The identification of Pshoi is a problem in its own right. The aforementioned Sahidic title states that "he died as a deacon. Apa Mose was appointed in his place", while according to the Bohairic version Pshoi was the "first deacon who lived in Scetis (ΨΙΗΤ in Coptic) with apa Macarius, a man of God, and Isidorus". We also learn that after his death, he was succeeded by apa Moses. As the latter is said to have fallen victim to the *Mazikoi* in 407,²⁵ Pshoi must have already been dead by then. In addition, this date also constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of the *Life of Maximus and Domitius*, if, of course, Psoi is indeed its author.

The Arabic version of the Life of Phoi²⁶ does not harmonize fully with this account. According to it, he was the follower of a certain Amoi the Older at whose house he met John Kolobos, whose close friend he soon became. After Amoi's death, Pshoi and John decided to separate. While the latter established his dwelling in Scetis, Pshoi moved to the desert, to a cave which very soon attracted several other monks. This place, which the Arabic Life is at pains to describe as impenetrable and difficult to reach, was located a few kilometers from the future monastery of Abu Maqar and in a few years it would be transformed into the monastery of Anba Bishoi. In 407 the aforementioned attack by the *Mazikoi* caused the dispersion

²⁴ As far as I know there are only seven examples of titles of BIOC in which the author's name is mentioned. They are the *Vita Archellidis* by Eusebius of Rome (Depuydt, Catalogue, p. 317), the *Vita Samuelis archimandritae* by Isaak of Kalamun (Depuydt, Catalogue, p. 276), the *Vita Phif* by Papohe (T. Orlandi - A. Campagnano, *Vite dei monaci Phif e Longino*, Milano 1975, p. 20), the *Vita Macarii* by Sarapamon (Amélineau, *Histoire des Monastères*, p. 46), the *Vita Iohannis Nani* by Zakharias (Amélineau, *Histoire des Monastères*, p. 316), the *Vita Cyri* (E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1914, p. 128) and the *Vita Hilariae* by Pambus of Scetis (Depuydt, Catalogue, pp. 328-329).

²⁵ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 19,1. See G. H. J. Bartenlink, *La Storia Lausiaca*, Firenze 1974, p. 96.

²⁶ See *Maximus and Domitius* in Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* V, New York 1991, p. 1576 and *Pshoi*, in ibid. VI, pp. 2029-2030.

of the monks of all the communes, so the *Life* states, was led to refuge in the mountains of Antioch where he died and was buried.

Doubts about Pshoi's identity are also expressed by Amélineau who maintained that he was probably identical with Pshoi, since it was hardly possible to imagine that two men could have the same name and be rivals in Scetis.²⁸ Amélineau's theory is based on the fact that the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (Synaxarium of the Monastery of Bašiah (= Pshoi) on the 8th of November) states that Pshoi was born in Shatsa (now known as Shatya) in the diocese of Antioch. The *Synaxarium* adds that after his death he was buried in the Monastery of Abū Bašiah (Constantinople) in whose house he had died. It is also mentioned that several miracles worked by Pshoi are recorded in the *Synaxarium*.

This reference to the Beheading of St. John the Baptist is significant, as a similar account is found in the *Life*, thus underscoring the importance of the saint in Coptic literature and the devotion to him.

In conclusion, the sources agree on the following:

1) the title of the Sahidic version of the *Life* testifies to his authorship of the *Life* of Pshoi, which was written in Constantinople.

2) the title of the Bohairic version of the *Life* testifies to the information given in the Sahidic version, according to which Pshoi was the "first deacon who lived in Scetis".

²⁷ Concerning this aspect see J. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrini*, Natrun II, pp. 404 ss.

²⁸ Concerning Pshoi see also J. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrini*, Cambridge éthiopienne de l'*histoire de Besoy*, in press, pp. 169-184.

²⁹ J. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrini*, p. 404.

³⁰ Forget, ibid. p. 208.

ire" of the BIOC the author is
d lives limit themselves to the
out dwelling on who may have
n, even if not an *unicum*,²⁴ also

problem in its own right. The
hat "he died as a deacon. Apa
hile according to the Bohairic
who lived in Scetis (**ΨΙΗΤ** in
f God, and Isidorus". We also
cceded by apa Moses. As the
he *Mazikoi* in 407,²⁵ Pshoi must
addition, this date also consti-
tutes of *Maximus and Domitius*, if, of

Pshoi²⁶ does not harmonize fully
e was the follower of a certain
net John Kolobos, whose close
death, Pshoi and John decided
ed his dwelling in Scetis, Pshoi
ch very soon attracted several
Arabic Life is at pains to de-
to reach, was located a few
y of Abu Maqr and in a few
e monastery of Anba Bishoi. In
e *Mazikoi* caused the dispersion

ven examples of titles of BIOC in
They are the *Vita Archellidis* by Eu-
(7), the *Vita Samuelis archimandritae*
, p. 276), the *Vita Phif* by Papohe
naci *Phif e Longino*, Milano 1975, p.
élineau, *Histoire des Monastères*, p.
(Amélineau, *Histoire des Monastères*,
istic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper
Hilariae by Pambus of Scetis (De-

G. H. J. Bartenlink, *La Storia Lau-*

The Coptic Encyclopedia V, New York
9-2030.

of the monks of all the communities of the Wadi al-Natrun.²⁷ Among them, so the *Life* states, was Pshoi, who, evidently still alive, took refuge in the mountains of Antinopolis, returning to Scetis only to be buried.

Doubts about Pshoi's identity were already expressed by Amélineau who maintained that his name did not sound Greek and that it was hardly possible to imagine that he had changed it after his arrival in Scetis.²⁸ Amélineau's doubts seem to be confirmed by the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* which commemorates the death of Bashiah (= Pshoi) on the 8th of the month of Abib and mentions his origin from Shatsa (now known as Shansa), in Egypt, and not from Constantinople as the two Coptic titles would state.²⁹ Furthermore, the Synaxary adds that after a visit by an angel of God, Pshoi adopted a monastic life under the guidance of Anba Bamuyah (= Amoi) in whose house he met John Kolobos. A description of several miracles worked by Pshoi follows, concluded by the sentence: *quo autem tempore Berberi desertum Scetense invaserunt, locum mutavit Abū Bašiā et in monte Antinoes habitavit, ubi mortuus est. Eius corpus, tempore persecutionis transacto, cum corpore Anba Pauli, e Tamuah oriundi, in monasterium sancti Abū Bašiā attulerunt.*³⁰

This reference to the Berbers as invaders of Scetis is extremely significant, as a similar account is included in the Sahidic version of the *Life*, thus underscoring the close link between the last phase of Coptic literature and the development of the Synaxary.

In conclusion, the sources mentioning Pshoi are the following:

1) the title of the Sahidic version of the *Life* which, as well as attributing to him authorship of the work, stresses his origin from Constantinople.

2) the title of the Bohairic version of the *Life* in which, in addition to the information given by the preceding title, he is qualified as the "first deacon who lived in Scetis with apa Macarius".

²⁷ Concerning this aspect see Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun* II, pp. 404 ss.

²⁸ Concerning Pshoi see also E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church* IV, Cambridge 1928, pp. 1083-1087, and P. Beylot, *La version éthiopienne de l'histoire de Besoy*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 203 (1986), pp. 169-184.

²⁹ J. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* II, Roma 1921, pp. 206-208.

³⁰ Forget, *ibid.* p. 208.

3) the Syriac version of the *Life of Maximus and Domitius* in which the author is mentioned. This version is known through ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 14655, ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 17262 and ms. Brit. Nus. Add. 14735 ff. 72-173 and was published by F. Nau, *Les légendes syriaques d'Aaron de Saroug, de Maxime et Domèce, d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma, et l'empereur Maurice*, in *Patrologia Orientalis* V, 750-766.

4) the Arabic version of the Life of Pshoi (the Coptic version of which is unknown), which summarizes his course of life and describes his spiritual growth and encounters with important persons, such as Amoi the Elder, John Kolobos, and Macarius, as well as Paul of Tamma.

5) the Arabic version *Life of Maximus and Domitius* translated by B. Pirone, *Vita dei Santi Massimo e Domezio nelle Fonti Arabe. Edizione, traduzione e note*, [Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea 29-30], Cairo 1996-1997, pp. 348 and 370 in which the author, here anonymous, affirms: "tutto ciò che vi ho esposto me lo raccontò Massimo, il quale mi fece giurare su Dio e mi fece promettere che mai avrei palesato alcunché li riguardasse fino a che fossero rimasti in vita".

6) the summary of the Life of Pshoi in the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* which substantially coincides with the Life known in Arabic but in addition enumerates the long series of miracles made by Bashah (= Pshoi), mentioning his Egyptian origins (from Shantsa) and the intimate relationship with the foundation of the monastery of Amba Bishoi.

It is not easy to establish the true identity of 'our' Pshoi but it is possible to advance some hypotheses:

1) Pshoi of Scetis and Pshoi of Constantinople are the same person: the author to whom the *Life* is attributed coincides with the individual commemorated in the Synaxary on the 8th of Abib. The Synaxary emphasizes above all the link between the Wadi al Natrun and Pshoi, on whom the foundation of the *monasterium sancti Abu Basiah* (now known as Deir el Baramus) is thought to depend in consequence of the relocation of his remains there.³¹ The confusion about his origin (Scetis or Constantinople) might be justified by the fact that the author of the title have only scanty memories of those facts.

³¹ It is important to remember that the figure of John Kolobos is also related to the foundation of one of the monasteries in the Wadi al Natrun which took its name from him. This monastery, certainly fully active at the end of the IV century, probably disappeared during the VI century.

2) Pshoi of Scetis and Pshoi of Constantinople are two different persons, being the second in reality a pseudonym. The credibility of Pshoi of Constantinople is helped by the homonymy with the monk of the same name.

In both these cases Pshoi of Scetis is a pseudonym. But it is difficult to identify Pshoi of Constantinople, because the information about him has been lost.

It is easier to identify Moses of Scetis, who was killed in 399. In the full description of his life, he is called "the Black", who was killed in 399. He was a murderer, this name comes from his dark skin, became "tardive" and went to Scetis, where he led a ascetic life and converted many people.

Moses's life is interwoven with the legend of the monk of the same name who was killed in 399. He was a murderer, this name comes from his dark skin, became "tardive" and went to Scetis, where he led a ascetic life and converted many people. The legend of Moses of Scetis is interwoven with the legend of the monk of the same name who was killed in 399. He was a murderer, this name comes from his dark skin, became "tardive" and went to Scetis, where he led a ascetic life and converted many people.

The fourth figure mentioned in the legend of Moses of Scetis is Macarius the Great,³² who was born in Alexandria. Born around 300 AD.

³² Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*

³³ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*

³⁶ See J-C. Guy, *Les Apothéoses de Macarius le Grand, texte critique, traduction et commentaire*, Paris 1990.

³⁷ Macarius the Great is also known as "Macarius of Scetis".

Maximus and Domitius in which
is known through ms. Brit.
17262 and ms. Brit. Nus. Add.
by F. Nau, *Les legends syriaques*
e, d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma,
italis V, 750-766.

of Pshoi (the Coptic version of
zes his course of life and de-
unteers with important persons,
s, and Macarius, as well as Paul

us and Domitius translated by B.
nezzio nelle Fonti Arabe. Edizione,
Christiana. Collectanea 29-30],
which the author, here anonym-
posto me lo raccontò Massimo,
fece promettere che mai avrei
a che fossero rimasti in vita".

of Pshoi in the *Synaxarium*
coincides with the Life known in
the long series of miracles made
Egyptian origins (from Shantsa)
the foundation of the monastery

identity of 'our' Pshoi but it is
Constantinople are the same per-
tributed coincides with the in-
xary on the 8th of Abib. The Sy-
between the Wadi al Natrun and
ie monasterium sancti Abu Basiah
; thought to depend in conse-
ns there.³¹ The confusion about
) might be justified by the fact
canty memories of those facts.

The figure of John Kolobos is also re-
nonasteries in the Wadi al Natrun
nastery, certainly fully active at the
red during the VI century.

2) Pshoi of Scetis and Pshoi of Constantinople are not the same person, being the second invented to give authority to the work. The credibility of Pshoi of Constantinople as author of the *Life* is helped by the homonymy with the real Pshoi.

In both these cases Pshoi of Constantinople would be an invented personality. But it is also possible, although not probable, that Pshoi of Constantinople really existed and that any other information about him has been lost.

It is easier to identify Moses the Ethiopian, known also as Moses the Black, who was killed in 407 by the *Mastikoi*. Palladius³² gives a full description of his life. After having been a thief, bandit and maybe even murderer, this man of Ethiopian origins and with a very dark skin, became "tardivamente toccato dal pentimento"³³ and went to Scetis, where he led an extremely hard life and facilitated the conversion of other miscreants by serving as an example.

Mose's life is interwoven with that of Isidorus when he was visited by the demons who tried to bring him back to his "antica consuetudine di sfrenata lussuria".³⁴ And it was Isidorus himself who helped him to reach the perfect *ascesis* and the "carisma contro i demoni"³⁵. And when his body was buried and venerated in the church of the Monastery of Deir al-Baramus, Isidorus acted as "le pretre en exer-
cise avant que Paphnuce n'occupe ce poste et après que Macaire se fut retiré dans le 'désert interieur'.³⁶ The latter must have "dis-
appeared" by 399, because it was his successor Paphnutius who de-
fended the Festal Letters of Theophilus during the anthropomor-
phite controversy of that year. Consequently this Isidorus, who lived
"with apa Macarius" can not be identical with the Isidorus who brought the Life of Maximus and Domitius to Alexandria.

The fourth figure mentioned in this portion of the title is that of Macarius the Great,³⁷ who was a contemporary of his namesake from Alexandria. Born around 300 in the village of Jiber, in the south-

³² Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 19,1. See Bartenlink, *La Storia Lausiaca*, p. 96.

³³ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 19,1. See Bartenlink, ibid., p. 98.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 19,11. See Bartenlink, ibid., p. 102.

³⁶ See J-C. Guy, *Les Apophthegmes des pères. Collection systématiques I-X. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, SCh 387, Paris 1993, p. 58.

³⁷ Macarius the Great is also known as "Macarius the Egyptian" or "Macarius of Scetis".

western part of the Nile delta, he moved to the Wadi al Natrun around 330 to live in a cave subdivided into two areas, one of which served as oratory. It is there that Maximus and Domitius joined him. His encounter with the main characters of the *Life* therefore occurred before Macarius founded the complex community of Scetis.³⁸

At this point, the title gives a series of very detailed descriptions concerning the transmission of the *Life*, which we have no reason to consider unfounded.

"Pshoi wrote the life of the saints on a papyrus scroll. He left it in the church as a benefit and a memorial, for all readers, of a beautiful way of life in accordance with God and with virtue, for he met with them for some days while they were still alive when he came to Scetis".

According to the title, Pshoi wrote the *Life of Maximus and Domitius* on a scroll of papyrus, deposited in the church of Scetis. Although the author of the title does not provide further indications, it is possible to formulate a hypothesis to determine which church the title refers to.

The toponym "Scetis" or "desert of Scetis" is used, in a strict sense, to define the area south of Kellia which extends down the long valley known in the Middle Ages as Wadi Habib and now as Wadi al Natrun. Sometimes, however, the same term is used to identify all the communities in the northern area of the Libyan desert, including Kellia and Nitria, the last of which is in fact very often confused with the Wadi al Natrun.³⁹ But even if we take the strict

³⁸ The life of Macarius of Scetis is recounted by Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 204, according to which he was relegated to an island in the Nile delta with Macarius of Alexandria during the Arian persecutions (around 374) and went back to Scetis only a few months before his death (around 390). Concerning this see also A. J. Festugière, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grec*, [Subsidia Hagiographica 34], Bruxelles 1961, pp. 123-128.

³⁹ See *Scetis* in A. S. Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* VII, pp. 2102-2106. During the Middle Ages the most interesting references to Scetis are made by al-Maqrizi in his *Kitab*. Concerning this see H. G. Evelyn-White, *The monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun. The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis II*, New York 1932, pp. 404-405: "The Valley of Habib is situated in the western part of Egypt, between Maryût and the Fayyûm. It takes its name from Habîb ibn Mohammed of the tribe of Fezareh, one of the companions of

sense of the toponym, we n the IV century, and more four communities in Scetis sition. Although they were i had a definite structure: a which hinged on the churc later were to be transforme (Deir Abu Maqar), that of S Romans (Deir Baramus) ar destined to disappear. At th were at least four churches i

It is known that each se own "father of the monast only the "father of the mona "father of Scetis" because he Wadi al Natrun before the t tors of the imperial governn most distant and least acc therefore a pre-eminent rol Shenoute I, when he built t Maqar, was instrumental in and still in 1088, when the a

the Prophet [...] This valley is the Natrûn, Desert of Shîhet, Formerly there were to be cou these there are now remain o greatly fallen forth from their t the Christian writers, there can with a staff in his hand, who w his return from Alexandria and monasteries [...] The most fam carius the Great". Further deta de l'Égypte à l'époque copte, Paris 1

⁴⁰ Evelyn-White, *The monaste*

⁴¹ P. van Cauwenbergh, *Éti Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasi*

⁴² The authorship of the *Hi* tionally it is attributed to the h den Heijer proposed the theor sur in the editing of the *History*

noved to the Wadi al Natrun
ed into two areas, one of which
imus and Domitius joined him.
cters of the *Life* therefore oc-
complex community of Scetis.³⁸
es of very detailed descriptions
ife, which we have no reason to

on a papyrus scroll. He left it in
ial, for all readers, of a beauti-
d and with virtue, for he met
ere still alive when he came to

wrote the *Life of Maximus and*
ited in the church of Scetis. Al-
iot provide further indications,
sis to determine which church

of Scetis" is used, in a strict
kellia which extends down the
es as Wadi Habib and now as
, the same term is used to iden-
ern area of the Libyan desert,
of which is in fact very often
But even if we take the strict

recounted by Rufinus, *Historia*
s relegated to an island in the Nile
g the Arian persecutions (around
months before his death (around
ère, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*.
iographica 34], Bruxelles 1961, pp.

Encyclopédia VII, pp. 2102-2106. Du-
g references to Scetis are made by
e H. G. Evelyn-White, *The monas-
te Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis II*,
of Habib is situated in the western
Fayyûm. It takes its name from
ezareh, one of the companions of

sense of the toponym, we must consider the fact that, already from the IV century, and more exactly from Macarius' death, there were four communities in Scetis characterized by a semi-anchorite disposition. Although they were not yet considered real monasteries, they had a definite structure: a group of cells, the central nucleus of which hinged on the church.⁴⁰ These communities are those which later were to be transformed into the monasteries of St. Macarius (Deir Abu Maqar), that of St. Bishoi (Deir Anba Bishoi), that of the Romans (Deir Baramus) and that of John Kolobos, the last being destined to disappear. At the end of the IV century, therefore, there were at least four churches in Scetis.

It is known that each section of the community of Scetis had its own "father of the monastery" who was assisted by a council. But only the "father of the monastery" of Deir Abu Maqar was also called "father of Scetis" because he represented all the communities of the Wadi al Natrun before the bishop of Alexandria and the administrators of the imperial government.⁴¹ The monastery of Abu Maqar, the most distant and least accessible of any in the entire valley, had therefore a pre-eminent role in comparison with the others. In 870 Shenoute I, when he built the high enclosure wall around Deir Abu Maqar, was instrumental in attracting a great number of new monks and still in 1088, when the author of the *History of the Patriarchs*⁴² vis-

the Prophet [...] This valley is also called the Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Natrûn, Desert of Shîhet, Desert of Askît, Balance of the hearts. [...] Formerly there were to be counted in this valley a hundred monasteries. Of these there are now remain only seven [...] Today these monasteries are greatly fallen forth from their former splendor. Indeed if we are to believe the Christian writers, there came from them seventy thousand monks, each with a staff in his hand, who went to Terraneh to salute 'Amr ibn el 'As on his return from Alexandria and to beg his protection for them and for their monasteries [...] The most famous of these monasteries is that of Saint Macarius the Great". Further details are provided by Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, pp. 433-452.

⁴⁰ Evelyn-White, *The monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun II*, pp. 95-124.

⁴¹ P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le Concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640)*, Paris 1914, pp. 81-88.

⁴² The authorship of the *History of the Patriarchs* is still a problem. Traditionally it is attributed to the historiographer Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa, but J. den Heijer proposed the theory of the decisive hand of Mawhub ibn Mansur in the editing of the *History of the Patriarchs*. For an in-depth study of the

ited the place; four hundred of the 712 monks who lived in the Wadi al-Natrun still inhabited that monastery. Therefore the "church of Scetis" mentioned in the title might be the church of the monastery of Saint Macarius.

On the other hand it is also very credible that the church in question, where Pshoi would have left the scroll containing his work, was that which was built near the tomb of the two saints and which is clearly mentioned in the Arabic version of the *Life of Maximus and Domitius*.⁴³

Unfortunately the continuing use of the monasteries of Scetis caused the disappearance not only of their original features but also of the single structures of which they were composed and, along with these, of the details of how and where the manuscripts were collocated. Nevertheless the fact that the title specifically mentions the church leads us to believe that the library might have been collocated in a room close to the ecclesiastical structure, as was the case of the other monasteries, for example that of Shenoute (the so-called "White Monastery" at Atriene) where, in a room north of the apse of the main church, inscriptions have been found on the walls describing the titles of the works preserved there, sometimes followed by the number of the existing copies.⁴⁴ On the basis of these

question see J. den Heijer, *L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, recension primitive et vulgate*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 27 (1985), pp. 1-29 and *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Études sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, CSCO 513 Subsidia 83, Louvain 1989. Also useful *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrij al Iskandarani* in Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* V, pp. 1573-1574.

⁴³ See for this aspect R-G. Coquin, *Le livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*, [Bibliothèques d'études coptes 13], Le Caire 1975, pp. 101-102 and above all B. Pirone, *Vita dei Santi Massimo e Domezio nelle Fonti Arabe. Edizione, traduzione e note*, [Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea 29-30], Cairo 1996-1997, p. 385. The Arabic version of the *Life* does not only mention the presence of a church near the tomb of the two saints, but also the fact that it was on the responsibility of the presbyter Isidorus giving therefore more credibility to the information provided with the Sahidic title: "Un anno dopo la loro morte furono molti ad abitare in questo deserto [...] Edificarono presso la grotta di questi due santi una grande chiesa cui fu preposto un presbitero a nome Isidoro, un santo padre inverno, mentre io, pur spregevole, venni eletto diacono".

⁴⁴ T. Orlando, *The Library of the Monastery of Shenute at Atriene*, in *Conference*

inscriptions it has been possible to contain the New Testament on the wall, those of the Old Testament on the eastern wall, while the homiletic texts on the southern and western walls respectively. We can assume that the library was also organized in the same way.

The specification of the word **NXAPTHC**, a scroll of papyrus, in the title of the manuscript are instead on *codice* or *codex*, the value of "codex",⁴⁵ but not necessarily include this meaning, mentioning "scroll", "papyrus", "book" and "divine book". The word **NXAPTHC** is concerned however with the meaning of "papyrus".⁴⁶

The scribe then goes on to say that the author of the manuscript, to assist the Mastikoi, Apa Eisidoros and Xenon. He spoke about them with great zeal for them".

At this point the figure of the monk is mentioned as having died as a deacon and being buried in the Ethiopian. To Isidorus is now added the name of Xenon. He spoke about them with great zeal for them".

and Perspectives on Panopolis, Leipzig 1989.

⁴⁵ L. Depuydt, Catalogue, p. 5. The word *codex* is used here in its broadest sense. For copying of literary works, the term *codex* is used from the 4th century, for the first time in the 3rd century.

⁴⁶ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Glossary*, Oxford 1960, p. 102.

⁴⁷ Liddell-Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1940, p. 620.

⁴⁸ Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1960, p. 102.

⁴⁹ The "Xenon" which the author refers to (Xenodochium) apud Alexandria, was a building for the sick with which the community of Christians was provided. The building, as well as the hospital, was located in the Christian community at a later date. For the history of the city of Alexandria see A. B. E. van Beek, *Geografici e topografici dell'Egitto*, Leiden 1904, pp. 11-12. Asylums for pilgrims in Alexandria are mentioned by several authors, among others by Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 22, 10-11.

monks who lived in the Wadi. Therefore the "church of the church of the monastery

credible that the church in the scroll containing his work, of the two saints and which is on of the *Life of Maximus and*

of the monasteries of Scetis their original features but also were composed and, along where the manuscripts were the title specifically mentions a library might have been colistical structure, as was the case like that of Shenoute (the so here, in a room north of the have been found on the walls eserved there, sometimes fol copies.⁴⁴ On the basis of these

*triarches d'Alexandrie, recension pri
rchéologie copte 27* (1985), pp. 1-29
*storiographie copto-arabe. Études sur la
lexandrie, CSCO 513 Subsidia 83,*
nsur ibn Mufarrij al Iskandarani in
14.

vre de la consécration du sanctuaire de
3], Le Caire 1975, pp. 101-102 and
Domezio nelle Fonti Arabe. Edizione,
stiana. Collectanea 29-30], Cairo
ie *Life* does not only mention the
e two saints, but also the fact that
er Isidorus giving therefore more
the Sahidic title: "Un anno do
i questo deserto [...] Edificarono
grande chiesa cui fu preposto un
e invero, mentre io, pur spregevo

ry of Shenute at Atrię, in Conference

inscriptions it has been possible to deduce that the volumes which contained the New Testament were on the shelves of the northern wall, those of the Old Testament on the shelves of the southern wall, while the homiletic texts and the biographies were on the eastern and western walls respectively, following a systematic collocation principle. We can assume that the library of the church of Scetis was also organized in the same way.

The specification of the material used is surprising: ΕΥΔΟΜΟC ΝΞΑΡΤΗC, a scroll of papyrus. Both versions of the *Life* in our possession are instead on *codices* of parchment. Depuydt gives ΔΟΜΟC the value of "codex",⁴⁵ but neither Lampe⁴⁶ nor Liddell-Scott⁴⁷ include this meaning, mentioning instead those of "roll", "section of papyrus", "book" and "division of a work". As far as the term ΧΑΡΤΗC is concerned however there are no doubts at all: it is "papyrus".⁴⁸

The scribe then goes on in his meticulous description of the destiny of the manuscript, to assert: "When Scetis has been laid waste by the Mastikoi, Apa Eisdoros took it with him to Alexandria to the Xenon. He spoke about the life of those saints and about his great zeal for them".

At this point the figure of Isidorus reappears. He was already said to have died as a deacon and to have been replaced by Moses the Ethiopian. To Isidorus is now attributed the transfer of the *Life* to the Xenon of Alexandria.⁴⁹ The alphabetic version of the

and Perspectives on Panopolis, Leiden 1998 (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 333. Concerning this he says: "probably a codex. For copying of literary works, the codex had replaced the roll almost entirely by the 4th century, for those of Christian content even two or three centuries earlier".

⁴⁶ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 1396.

⁴⁷ Liddell-Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, p. 1804.

⁴⁸ Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1519.

⁴⁹ The "Xenon" which the title refers to is probably the *Xenon* (or *Xenodochium*) *apud Alexandriam* was one of the many asylums for pilgrims and the sick with which the cosmopolitan and crowded town of Alexandria was provided. The building, as in several other cases, was utilized by a Christian community at a later date. For its topographic collocation in the fabric of the city of Alexandria see *Alessandria* in A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano I*, Milano 1935, p. 138. For other asylums for pilgrims in Alexandria see C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*,

Apophthegmata Patrum dedicates two chapters⁵⁰ to an Isidorus of Scetis, who lived in the IV century and was known for his exceptional patience. Even if he is not mentioned in his own right in the *Synaxarium*, he is included, in the same work, under the life of Zacharias of Scetis, commemorated on the 18th of Babah,⁵¹ and above all under that of Moses the Ethiopian who, as we have already seen in Palladius, lived in Scetis at the same time as Isidorus, who acted as his adviser. Moses is commemorated in the *Synaxarium* on the 24 of Bawunah about whom we read *audiens aliquem affirmantem esse in valle Habib monachos qui Deum cognoscerent, surrexit et, ense succintus, desertum petiit, occurritque sancto Isidoro presbytero, qui eius aspectu teritus est.*⁵² In spite of his initial alarm, it was to be Isidorus himself who would lead Moses to Macarius and support him when, after he retreated to the desert, he was repeatedly tempted by the devil. With Isidorus therefore, we have another reference to the spiritual and cultural life of Scetis and to the people who lived there.

As far as the *Mazikoi* are concerned, it is known that Scetis had been attacked three times in the V century alone: in 407, in 434 and in 444. Finally in the VI century there was another assault, probably the fiercest, as a consequence resulted the monastery of Saint Macarius was abandoned for many years.

The scroll containing the *Life* "remained there until the time of Apa Khael, the most holy archbishop of Alexandria. It was brought to light by a deacon named Eustatios, who had found it in a large storage box of old parchment books written in quires, when he was looking for books that might have deteriorated over time, for he was a servant of God. He then met a monk living in the Ennaton, who was from Scetis, and gave it to him. This is the way in which the life of those perfect saints of God was revealed. For the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. In God's peace. Amen".

The reference to the finding of the manuscript, in more or less miraculous circumstances, is not unusual in the Coptic literary production. Among the homiletic works we can enumerate at least six works in which similar circumstances occur:

Topography and Social Conflict, Baltimore 1997, p. 367 and 393.

⁵⁰ J.C. Guy, *Les Apophthegmes des pères du désert. Série alphabétique*, [Textes de spiritualité orientale 1], Bègrolles s.d., pp. 134-136.

⁵¹ Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum I*, pp. 66-68.

⁵² Forget, *ibid.*, pp. 183-185.

- Basil of Caesarea: *De ecclesiastice vita* 1, 10, 10. We find an account of a letter from Basil to John, also known as Mark, concerning the first church dedicated to the Virgin.

- John Chrysostom: *In Iacobum* 1, 10, 10. The author, who was still a priest, writes that in the whose library he finds a copy of the Apostles to the other world.

- John Chrysostom: *In quatuor Evangeliorum* 1, 10, 10. The character is again the author of the mother of John, and there is a reference made by Jesus Christ to the animals which transported God's Word.

- Theodosius of Alexandria: *Homiliae in Iacobum* 1, 10, 10. In which there is a reference to the Assumption of Mary in Jerusalem about Mary's Assumption in Alexandria.

- Timothy of Alexandria: *Homiliae in Iacobum* 1, 10, 10. Account of a parchment written by the Evangelist, and found in his tomb. John's testimony on his journey.

- Timothy of Alexandria: *Homiliae in Iacobum* 1, 10, 10. Timothy goes to Jerusalem, invites the author to examine the manuscript they themselves might have left in the tomb to copy the manuscript.

In each of these six homilies the finding of the manuscript has an important role in the narrative. In the only case where we also find the name of the author in the title. In the case of the *Homiliae in Iacobum* we account how and where the manuscript was found in the title.

Going back to the historical context, we can suppose that the manuscript was probably Kha'il I (or Mikha'il).

⁵³ Numbers in brackets refer to the original text.

⁵⁴ For the complete text of the *Homiliae in Iacobum*, see *Homiliae in Iacobum*, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁵ See *Kha'il in Atiya*, *The Coptic Homilies*, pp. 225-226.

chapters⁵⁰ to an Isidorus of Babah, who was known for his exceptioned in his own right in the same work, under the life of on the 13th of Babah,⁵¹ and opian who, as we have already e same time as Isidorus, who nated in the *Synaxarium* on ad audiens aliquem affirmantem n cognoscerent, surrexit et, ense ncto Isidoro presbytero, qui eius al alarm, it was to be Isidorus rius and support him when, af peitedly tempted by the devil. her reference to the spiritual ople who lived there.

d, it is known that Scetis had tury alone: in 407, in 434 and was another assault, probably lted the monastery of Saint rs.

nained there until the time of of Alexandria. It was brought , who had found it in a large written in quires, when he was eriorated over time, for he was ak living in the Ennaton, who his is the way in which the life eavealed. For the glory of our en".

ie manuscript, in more or less sual in the Coptic literary pro we can enumerate at least six occur:

97, p. 367 and 393.
désert. Série alphabétique, [Textes de
134-136.
, pp. 66-68.

- Basil of Caesarea: *De ecclesia Mariae Virginis* (0073)⁵³ in which we find an account of a letter found in the house of Mary, mother of John, also known as Mark, containing the story of the foundation of the first church dedicated to the Virgin at Philippi.

- John Chrysostom: *In Iohannem Baptistam* (0170) in which the author, who was still a priest, makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the whose library he finds a manuscript concerning the visit of the Apostles to the other world.

- John Chrysostom: *In quattuor animalia* (0177) in which the main character is again the author, who goes to the house of Mary, the mother of John, and there finds a manuscript containing a revelation made by Jesus Christ to the Apostles, concerning the four animals which transported God's throne.

- Theodosius of Alexandria: *De Assumptione Mariae Virginis* (0385) in which there is a reference to a book containing ancient stories of Jerusalem about Mary's Assumption, found in the library of St. Mark in Alexandria.

- Timothy of Alexandria: *In Michaelem* (0404) in which we find the account of a parchment written by Proclus, disciple of John the Evangelist, and found in his own house. The parchment contained John's testimony on his journey to the other world.

- Timothy of Alexandria: *Institutio Abbaton* (0405) in which Timothy goes to Jerusalem, invited by John the presbyter whose permission he asks to examine the Book of Abbaton, which the Apostles themselves might have left in the library. Timothy expresses a desire to copy the manuscript.

In each of these six homilies the finding of a manuscript clearly has an important role in the narrative, but the *Institutio Abbaton* is the only case where we also find a clear reference to this episode⁵⁴ in the title. In the case of the "Life of Maximus and Domitius" the account how and where the manuscript was found is contained only in the title.

Going back to the historical references of this portion of the text, we can suppose that the Apa Khael mentioned in the title is probably Kha'il I (or Mikha'il)⁵⁵ (744-767) who was a presbyter at

⁵³ Numbers in brackets refer to the *clavis copica*.

⁵⁴ For the complete text of the title and the work see Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁵ See Kha'il in Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* V, pp. 1410-1412.

Deir Abu Maqr and, after Theodorus's death, was appointed the 46th patriarch, when a delegation of bishops asked the governor of Al Fustat permission to choose the new bishop of Alexandria themselves. At that time al Fustat, which was born as a garrison town for the conquering army, had already become the first Islamic capital of Egypt. The identification of this figure as Kha'il I is to be preferred to that of Kha'il II or Kha'il III because the first would fit perfectly with the environment and the tradition of Scetis to which, it is now very clear, the author of the title, more than the author of the work, is at pains to give full value.

The original text of the "Life of Maximus and Domitius", therefore, probably remained in Alexandria until the middle of the VII century when, in a miraculous manner, it was discovered by chance and brought back to Scetis. The description of the deacon Eustatius' function is very interesting. He was responsible for selecting the books which might have deteriorated and had to be restored, since he was a **ΡΕΨΩΜΩΝΟΥΤΕ**, i.e. a "servant of God", who found our manuscript in a large wooden box among a quantity of other books of parchment written in quires⁵⁶ **ΕΣΕΝΤΕΤΡΑΚ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΜΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΟΝ**.

5 The *bhāvairic* title

The text of the Bohairic version of the “Life of Maximus and Domitius” does not differ greatly from that of the Sahidic version, and more importantly it does not add anything significant to it.

It is easy to imagine that both titles depend on an original "model" which, according to the ancient tradition of the titles attributed to the lives, must only have contained the indication of the "literary genre" and the names of the main characters but not the name of the author.

Three hypotheses may explain the transformation of the original title:

- the original brief title was transformed, over time, into a "model" of medium length from which, independently and more or less simultaneously, the Bohairic title (substantially in agreement with the medium model) and the Sahidic title (consisting of the medium

model with further information

- the original brief title "model" of medium length is directly derived. From the one was created at a later date the tradition of the text and author considered useful and
 - the long Sahidic title made of medium length, being able of the Bohairic one.

Although it is difficult to

Although it is difficult to tell, the last hypothesis seems hairic title depended on the would have cut out the specimen of the text contained in the only if the author of the *Bo milieu* and wanted to eliminate case, since in the Bohairic that society (Macarius, Isido and the church in which Psh tioned.

Of the two other hypotheses. We can imagine the critical length attributed to a work of this title may have been translated into B. around the VIII century, the data.

These hypotheses do not originally the *Life* had been created, to which the Sahidic title translated into Coptic and at some time of the *Life* published by was later from Greek into Arabic with the evolution of the title on the works to which they are “independent creation”.

⁵⁶ For a definition of **TETPAC** see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1391.

us's death, was appointed the bishops asked the governor of new bishop of Alexandria them-as born as a garrison town for came the first Islamic capital of e as Kha'il I is to be preferred use the first would fit perfectly on of Scetis to which, it is now e than the author of the work,

Maximus and Domitius", thereia until the middle of the VII er, it was discovered by chance iption of the deacon Eustatius' responsible for selecting the and had to be restored, since ervant of God", who found our long a quantity of other books
⁵⁶ ΕΞΕΝΤΕΤΡΑΚ ΝΥΛΩΜΕ

of the "Life of Maximus and m that of the Sahidic version, anything significant to it. titles depend on an original cient tradition of the titles at contained the indication of the e main characters but not the transformation of the original med, over time, into a "model" pendenly and more or less si tantly in agreement with the le (consisting of the medium

model with further information) probably derived.

- the original brief title was trasformed, over the ages, into a "model" of medium length from which the Bohairic title would have directly derived. From the model of medium length, the Sahidic one was created at a later date, adding the information (concerning the tradition of the text and the life in the Scetis' *milieu*) which the author considered useful and effective.

- the long Sahidic title may have been derived from the "model" of medium length, being abbreviated, at a later date, by the creator of the Bohairic one.

Although it is difficult to outline precisely the evolution of the title, the last hypothesis seems to be the least probable. If the Bohairic title depended on the Sahidic one, the author of the former would have cut out the specific information related to the tradition of the text contained in the Sahidic title. This would be reasonable only if the author of the Bohairic title were not part of the Scetis' *milieu* and wanted to eliminate all references to it. But this is not the case, since in the Bohairic title the most significant characters of that society (Macarius, Isidorus, Moses the Ethiopian) are present and the church in which Pshoi probably left the manuscript is mentioned.

Of the two other hypotheses, the second seems the most plausible. We can imagine the creation of a Sahidic title of medium length attributed to a work composed in the same language. Later this title may have been translated, together with the work it was attributed to of course, into Bohairic as well. At an even later date, around the VIII century, the Sahidic title was enriched with further data.

These hypotheses do not exclude of course the possibility that originally the *Life* had been composed in Greek (maybe in Alexandria, to which the Sahidic title refers) and only at a later date it was translated into Coptic and at this regard the scribe of the Arabic version of the *Life* published by Pirone clearly affirms that it was trans lated from Greek into Arabic. But this does not have anything to do with the evolution of the titles which in Coptic depend only in part on the works to which they are attributed and can be considered an "independent creation".

6. Relationship between the content of the title and the content of the work

As we have already pointed out, in Coptic the longest titles generally contain a summary of the work to which they belong. These summary-titles represent, in some way, the ideas that the people who composed them had about those works and about the Coptic literature in general. In this case, given the scant mention of the two saints, it is necessary to read the whole work in order to know their story.

We discover then that Maximus and Domitius are the sons of Valentinianus (Valentinus in the Coptic text), in his turn son of Jovianus (363-364). They ask permission, which they obtain, to go to Nicaea to worship at the site where the holy council had been held. In Nicaea they meet the monk John of Nitria to whom they express their desire to dedicate themselves to the monastic life. John sends them to Agabus, in Syria, but after a few months he dreams of Macarius's asking him to send the two princes to Scetis. Nevertheless Maximus and Domitius continue to live in Syria until Agabus's death, in the meantime working miracles in various places (Ascalon, Lystra, Gabala, Seleucia and even Athens) and weaving sails to make a living. And that is exactly how the emperor finds them: by reading their name embroidered on the sail of a merchant from Alexandria.

At this point the Sahidic version mentions the Egyptian origins of Theodosius the Great (379-395), who was chosen by Valentinus/Valentinianus before dying, so that "an Arian not sit on our father's throne". The generals Sergius and Athanasius have the responsibility of making sure of his succession in the face of his rival, "a friend of Julian" (the Apostate).

After this digression, the source of which is unknown, the narration of the life of Maximus and Domitius starts again. After the death of the bishop of Constantinople, Theodosius decides to appoint Maximus as his successor. The two brothers, with the help of an angel, then escape to Scetis and finally become part of Macarius's community.

The Bohairic version of the work is, as far the content is concerned, substantially equivalent to the Sahidic one, although less accurate in its details. The setting of Scetis, already in the hagiographic text, is itself an important protagonist that emerges from the complex narrative of the vicissitudes of Maximus and Domitius.

After the death of the two brothers, the nucleus of what was to become the *Synaxarium* of the two saints was formed, consacrated to the memory of the two saints.

We notice that all the chapters of the *Synaxarium* begin with the sole exception of Isis, with the formula "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen", followed by the name of the saint.

- Deir Abu Maqr from Maqr
 - Deir Anba Musa from Maqr
 - Deir el Baramus from Maqr
 - Deir Anba Bishoi from Maqr
- the Pshoi of the synaxarial version, and not the supposed author of the original.

But what is even more significant is the fact that the author is not part of that society that he describes. The language he uses, Sahidic, which is not the language of the author of the middle length text, identifies him as a man of southern Egypt. The hypotheses concerning the real author of the *Synaxarium* of the two saints, evidently still very active, are mainly based on the fact that the author is from Egypt.

7. The "Life of Maximus and Domitius"

The "Life of Maximus and Domitius" is the first text mentioned in the *Synaxarium*, but also the most important. It has survived in three versions: Sahidic, Bohairic and Coptic. Nevertheless it is the comparison between the three versions that provides the main interest.

⁵⁷ In particular the *Life* is translated into Latin in the *Acta Sanctorum* (ed. Migne, Paris 1844, vol. 1, pp. 530 ff. 300r-351r dated 1233 and 1234). For a complete list of the manuscripts see Massimo e Domezio nelle *Fonti Arabiche*, in *christlichen arabischen Literatur I*, [1], pp. 536-537 above all concerning the manuscript Kairo 723 ff. 72r-35v. Concerning the *Life* of Maximus and Domitius see *Ethiopian Church II*, Cambridge 19

the title and the content of the work

Coptic the longest titles generally to which they belong. These may, the ideas that the people in their works and about the Coptic in the scant mention of the two in the work in order to know their

and Domitius are the sons of (Coptic text), in his turn son of son, which they obtain, to go to the holy council had been held. of Nitria to whom they express the monastic life. John sends a few months he dreams of two princes to Scetis. Nevertheless to live in Syria until Agabus's travels in various places (Ascalon, Tyre) and weaving sails to make emperor finds them: by reading a merchant from Alexandria. mentions the Egyptian origins who was chosen by Valentinus/ an Arian not sit on our father's Chanarius have the responsibility the face of his rival, "a friend

which is unknown, the narrative starts again. After the death of Theodosius decides to appoint others, with the help of an already become part of Macarius's

is, as far the content is concerned Sahidic one, although less accurate. Scetis, already in the hagiographical protagonist that emerges from lives of Maximus and Domitius.

After the death of the two brothers, their bodies are transferred to the nucleus of what was to be Deir el Baramus, the monastery of the Romans, consecrated to the memory of the two saints of Roman origin.

We notice that all the characters of the Sahidic title of the *Life*, with the sole exception of Isidorus, are connected with the foundation of a monastery which derives its name from theirs:

- Deir Abu Maqar from Macarius
- Deir Anba Musa from Moses the Ethiopian
- Deir el Baramus from Maximus and Domitius
- Deir Anba Bishoi from Pshoi (although in this case it is rather the Pshoi of the synaxarial version to be related to the monastery and not the supposed author of the *Life*) .

But what is even more significant is that the author of the title is not part of that society that is described in such details. The language he uses, Sahidic, which is presumably the same used by the author of the middle length title from which this surely comes, qualifies him as a man of southern Egyptian origin, suggesting interesting hypotheses concerning the relationship between the community of Scetis, evidently still very active in the VIII century, and southern Egypt.

7. *The "Life of Maximus and Domitius" in the Synaxarium*

The "Life of Maximus and Domitius" is known in Arabic not only from the *Synaxarium*, but also from some manuscripts which contained the translation, more or less faithful, of the Coptic work.⁵⁷ Nevertheless it is the comparison with the synaxarial summary that provides the main interest.

⁵⁷ In particular the *Life* is transmitted in Arabic through the mss. Sin Ar. 530 ff. 300r-351r dated 1233 and Sin. Ar. 475 ff. 222v-276v dated to the XIII century. For a complete list of the manuscripts see B. Pirone, *Vita dei Santi Massimo e Domezio nelle Fonti Arabe*, pp. 259-260. See also G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur I*, [Studi e Testi 118], Città del Vaticano 1954, pp. 536-537 above all concerning the manuscript which Pirone could not examine (Kairo 723 ff. 72r-35v). Concerning the Ethiopian version of the Life of Maximus and Domitius see E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church II*, Cambridge 1928, pp. 508-513.

The *Synaxarium* on the 14th of Tobe⁵⁸ mentions only briefly Maximus's death and for a memorial of the life of both it refers us to the 17th of the same month, the day in which Domitius⁵⁹ died. The description of the life of the two saints is extremely detailed and represents one of the longest of the whole synaxarial collection. Among the few omissions by comparison with the Coptic versions is that of the monk whom Maximus and Domitius met in Nicaea and who encouraged them to go to Syria (John, in the two Coptic texts), but the rest of the narration is extremely faithful to the Coptic version.

The section dedicated to the sojourn of the two princes in Scetis is particularly accurate. Their relationship with Macarius is also well described. At the beginning he is very skeptical about their ability to undergo the asceticism in the desert, but on the other hand he was very impressed when he saw them fighting against the demons which besieged them in the form of wolves. So the author of the synaxarial text follows the Coptic tradition, especially the Sahidic one.

It remains to be explained why the author of the title attributed to the Sahidic version of the "Life of Maximus and Domitius" decided to give such an unusual slant to it.

We suppose that the author of the title wanted to celebrate the community of the Wadi al Natrun more than the life of the two princes. Macarius, Moses, Pshoi, John Kolobos and above all Isidorus, to whom the survival of the *Life* is attributed, are some of the figures around which a sort of celebration of Scetis has been built. Also the patriarch (Mi)kha'il and, last but not least, the church of the monastery of Abu Maqr, the invasion of the *Mastikoi* and the foundation of the monasteries of Anba Bishoi, of John Kolobos and of the Romans took part in this glorification.

The main purpose is clearly to stress the prosperity of Scetis, not only at the time of (Mi)kha'il I (second half of the VIII century) but also later, up to the period of the creation of the Sahidic title, which in this way turns out to be the result of a creative activity in its own right.

Recent excavations in the area of the modern monastery of the Romans (Deir el Baramus) confirm the survival of a large community, at least until the period in which the title under examination

⁵⁸ Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* I, p. 344.

⁵⁹ Forget, *ibid.*, pp. 353-356.

was created. The excavation, by the University of Leiden, is connected with the building of Moses the Black, which is of the Romans.⁶⁰

The results of the first century as the probable date of the moment in which it was founded. The historian Taqiyah (1364-1442) a small group of remains of the monastery.

The last monastic settlement of the two martyrs who, although been later identified with the name of the monastery was called

Actually the information enough to prove that in the still an active centre of literature, it demonstrates that the monastery was a community of the area.

The text of the title attributed to Maximus and Domitius",

⁶⁰ K. Innemée, *Excavations at Deir el Baramus*, vol. 1 and 2 (1998), pp. 15-18.

⁶¹ Nowadays the name of Deir el Baramus, still in use, built next to the "twin monastery" of the real Deir el Baramus.

⁶² For a profile of al-Maqrizi, see pp. 177-178. The historian and his works, of two contributions of geographical study, both in four volumes.

⁶³ The main attention of the living area, characterized by a massive wall made of limestone, but other monasteries of the same area, a defensive structure which is connected with the invasion in the western desert. The building has been identified, which was surely used at least as a residence, demonstrated by the numerous numismatic finds.

Tobe⁵⁸ mentions only briefly of the life of both it refers us to in which Domitius⁵⁹ died. The is extremely detailed and rep e synaxarial collection. Among the Coptic versions is that of ius met in Nicaea and who en in the two Coptic texts), but the ul to the Coptic version.

rn of the two princes in Scetis ship with Macarius is also well skeptical about their ability to on the other hand he was very against the demons which be o the author of the synaxarial cially the Sahidic one.

e author of the title attributed if Maximus and Domitus" de it.

e title wanted to celebrate the more than the life of the two in Kolobos and above all Isi e is attributed, are some of the action of Scetis has been built. st but not least, the church of vasion of the *Mastikoi* and the a Bishoi, of John Kolobos and cation.

ess the prosperity of Scetis, not id half of the VIII century) but ition of the Sahidic title, which of a creative activity in its own

the modern monastery of the the survival of a large commu h the title under examination

, p. 344.

was created. The excavation, which began in 1995 and is organized by the University of Leiden under the direction of Karel Innemée,⁶⁰ is connnected with the building known nowadays as the monastery of Moses the Black, which is instead the real and original monastery of the Romans.⁶¹

The results of the first archaeological research suggest the IV century as the probable date for the foundation and the XV century as the moment in which the structure was definitely abandoned. The historian Taqiy al-Din al-Maqrizi⁶² onfirms that in his time (1364-1442) a small group of monks still lived in the crumbling remains of the monastery.

The last monastic settlement is related to the commemoration of the two martyrs who, although anonymous at the beginning, have been later identified with Maximus and Domitius from whom the name of the monastery was derived.⁶³

Actually the information obtained from the excavations is not enough to prove that in the IX-XI centuries the Wadi al Natrun was still an active centre of literary production, but certainly it demonstrates that the monastery of St. Macarius was not the only vital community of the area.

The text of the title attributed to the Sahidic version of the "Life of Maximus and Domitius", with its meticulous description of credi

⁶⁰ K. Innemée, *Excavations at Deir el Baramus*, in *Grafma Newsletter* 1 (1997) and 2 (1998), pp. 15-18.

⁶¹ Nowadays the name of Deir el Baramus is used to designate the mona stery, still in use, built next to the excavation site and which was founded as a "twin monastery" of the real Deir al Baramus during the VI century.

⁶² For a profile of al-Maqrizi see *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* VI, Leiden 1991, pp. 177-178. The historian and topographer is the author, among the other works, of two contributions of great value: a universal history and a topographical study, both in four volumes.

⁶³ The main attention of the University of Leiden has been paid to the living area, characterized by a group of cells protected by a defensive enclosure wall made of limestone, built probably around the IX-X century. The other monasteries of the same area are also characterized by the addition of a defensive structure which is certainly to be connected with the barbarian invasion in the western desert. Not too far from the area of the cells a square building has been identified, the function of which is yet not clear, but which was surely used at least until the XII century, as it has been demonstrated by the numerous numismatic findings.

ble historical events, may witness to a real and lively cultural life in the Wadi al Natrun during the late Coptic age, although the title under examination cannot have been produced in Scetis, but rather for Scetis.

Concerning the accuracy of the information provided by the author of the title about the way in which the text would have been transmitted (and there are not plausible reasons to exclude it) it is still necessary to understand how he came by this knowledge. The most probable hypothesis is that he had revised a series of annotations contained in the manuscript (or rather, manuscripts) from which he obtained information to create his own version of the title of the *Life*. This information, perhaps concentrated in the colophon, would have been the cue for that celebration of Scetis which, as we have seen, is the real protagonist, for much of the title.

Paola Buzi

Athanasius von Alexandrien
setzung und Kommentar von Ut
Walter De Gruyter, Berlin - New

In un articolo pubblicato in ha proposto un'ipotesi nuova e ne che c' informa sulla questione documentazione ci è stata tram *Decr.* 26 egli adduce *ad litteram* la accusa Dionigi di Alessandria per contro i sabelliani, aveva avuto e vano trinitariamente troppo dividendo l'Alessandrino dall'accusa quella di Ario, ancora Atanasio dello scritto apologetico con cui dal Romano. L'Abramowski ha i be stata il prodotto di un'impeg concilio di Serdica, più o meno promesso e mediazione tra nice falso sarebbe stato introdotto όμοούσιος. Successivamente anco sta complessa falsificazione e se dall'accusa di essere stato un aria tutte le parti ed è stata male acco volume di Uta Heil ne prende l'ac cisazione, nel contesto di un am desco e a un' ampia illustrazione

Il volume si apre con una breve *Sent.*, sulla traccia dei noti lavori c sione sulla datazione di *Sent.*, per 359/60, contro la tendenza generale scritto alcuni anni prima, 355/6 l'autrice ricorda brevemente la c fatto all'ipotesi della Abramowski sfruttato quella ipotesi a benefici respinge (pp. 36-43). Segue a que